WHERE

WOULD BE THE HARM

OF A

SPEEDY PEACE?

One time the people were very clamorous for aſſiſting the queen of Hungary, and nothing elſe could content them. Then the tide turned; and they were equally clamorous to aſſiſt the king of Pruſſia. At one time that miſerable iſland CORSICA was the favourite object; at another, a ſet of rocks abſolutely barren, in the midſt of a moſt inhoſpitable ſea and in a moſt wretched climate, engroſſed their attention: in ſhort, any thing and every thing, excepting that one thing the moſt needful for a commercial ſtate,

To ſtudy to be quiet and to do our own buſineſs.

How a nation, ſuch as ours, whoſe continual aim it ſhould be to increaſe the number of its friends, and to attract cuſtomers from every part of the globe, ſhould entertain that fondneſs for war which the Engliſh have done for half a century paſt is, I own, beyond my comprehenſion. Nor can I find, even if we had come off conquerors in every engagement by ſea and land, that theſe ſhining victories would have reduced the price of our manufactures, or made them one jot the better or cheaper, or fitter to be exported to foreign markets.

DEAN TUCKER.

Briſtol:

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INHABITANTS of Britain! You, who lately ſtood forth the aſſerters of LIBERTY! may you ſoon be ſummoned in the name of afflicted humanity to appear as advocates for PEACE! It is a dear and holy cauſe: and the credit acquired by your temperate ardour, together with the ſucceſs of your recent efforts, affords your country a ſecurity, that on this ſecond grand occaſion you would diſplay, before men and angels, the ſame generoſity of ſpirit, reined in and guided by the ſame diſcretion. At the word *ſucceſs* I care not though the minions of adminiſtration ſhould expreſs their exultation by a contemptuous ſmile. Unexpected oppoſition has undoubtedly had the effect to ſoften one harſh feature of the *Convention-Bill:* and to your concurring efforts and laudable zeal it muſt be aſcribed, that a magiſtrate is not to preſide over your meetings with all the tyrannical influence of a Turkiſh Baſhaw. For what, I beſeech you, is there in the character of the maſter-mover of this buſineſs from which an impartial reaſoner can infer, that he had leſs in his thoughts than he put into the firſt draught of his bill? When has he been ſhy in extending influence, and exerting it, as ſoon as eſtabliſhed, for the attainment of his own ends? He has complained, it ſeems, of miſrepreſentation! how juſtly, the following extract of a letter from an obſervant and veracious member of parliament may ſerve to convince you. The original lies for public inſpection in the hands of my Printer.

"Mr. Pitt ********, as you will ſee by his bill which "was preſented yeſterday, has left out the moſt offenſive and "arbitrary clauſe, viz. the reſtricting in *private houſes* con- "verſation on political ſubjects to a certain number of perſons; "he ſays now that he never had ſuch an intention, though on "Tueſday he diſtinctly opened it as part of his plan."

But the effect of national remonſtrance is in my conception by no means limited to thoſe modifications which the Bills have undergone or may undergo. On their firſt introduction I repeated in deſpair Lord Cheſterfield's exclamation, *how much eaſier is it to deceive than undeceive mankind!* for in truth I was fearful that the ſenſe of the nation would be held in the ſame

ſpell by which it had been ſo long bound. Nor did I expect that any thing would be heard in oppoſition to the daring invaſion of our "true, ancient, and indubitable rights," except a few unavailing murmurs from the proſcribed adherents of liberty and virtue. While I was under this apprehenſion, there aroſe before my imagination a picture of ſociety ſuch as it muſt become, were it ſubjected to the full rigour of theſe fatal meaſures. In the fore-ground I beheld ſteam aſcending up to heaven, volume after volume; it aroſe from the executed martyrs of freedom. In the diſtance lay a tract ſtrewed over with ruins, as after the paſſage of an hurricane; this part of the ſcene repreſented the effects of popular indignation, burſting forth in all its undiſtinguiſhing fury. From this moſt deplorable of national calamities, I truſt it will prove your glory to have contributed to ſave your country. One thing is poſſible, and indeed I think it likely: cunningly deviſed treaſon-traps will catch ſome of thoſe, who like myſelf have proteſted, with imprudent regard for mankind, againſt the machinations of a miniſter, whom the people once fondly ſuppoſed, in power of intellect and purity of intention, to approach towards the perfection of ſuperior natures. † Making allowance of a few victims to be ſacrificed on the altar of diſappointed malignity, I pledge myſelf that no very ſanguinary ſcenes ſhall be acted before your eyes, *provided your ſpirit continue at its preſent height, and your reaſon recede not ten degrees backwards.* Public opinion will ſtill be the ſhield of innocence. Againſt ſuch an obſtacle it will not be very eaſy

"To ſhut the gates of mercy on mankind."

Nor will a Herod or a Robeſpierre, ſhould ever ſuch a monſter aſſume the ſhape of a Britiſh miniſter, be able, by extenſion of bloody ſtatutes, to accompliſh a general ſlaughter of the friends of human-kind. This check upon cruelty you will doubtleſs eſteem as the moſt ſplendid part of your ſucceſs.

You will proceed without delay to another effort in your own behalf—in behalf of your bleeding country and ſtarving fellow-creatures, if it can be ſhewn that no public injury, (none at leaſt which War does not threaten in a much greater degree) can be reaſonably apprehended from an immediate Peace. Here let me remind you of an obſervation thrown out by Mr. Burke, as I think, towards the cloſe of that war, which Lord North could not find in his heart to bring to a concluſion. If no extraordinary occurrence ſhould enable the miniſter to make peace on ſuch terms that he might hope to keep his place, Mr. Burke ſaid, he would go on with the war

† See a piece entitled REASONS, &c. publiſhed many months before hoſtilities commenced, in which the author vainly foretold that a diſgraceful and diſaſtrous war terminating in deſpotiſm or anarchy, would be the inevitable conſequence of certain practices then purſuing to rouſe and ſtrengthen national antipathies.

to the end of the century. And, when you have conſidered for a moment the imperfect ſtate of our common nature, and the diſregard ambitious men have always ſhewn towards human life, tell me if this aſſertion appear extravagant. To judge how far the principle on which it is founded will apply, imagine all poſſible diſaſters to have fallen on this country; ſuppoſe the continent of Europe to ſmoak with the blood of our brave ſoldiers whom a ſuperior enemy has cut to pieces; our plantations in diſtreſs for lumber and proviſions; the iſlands themſelves threatened by the enemy; the negroes ripening for revolt:—at home, taxes every ſeſſion increaſing; new burdens to be unavoidably impoſed for years to come, in order to provide for expences already incurred; a great ſcarcity juſt paſt, a famine in proſpect; the middling claſs reduced to give up the accuſtomed comforts of life; the poor periſhing for want of its neceſſaries. Were this repreſentation realized, would you expect a penitential confeſſion from a prime miniſter though our calamities ſhould be the direct effect of his meaſures? Is it in nature for ſuch a man to come forward in the face of his country and ſay: "I have preſumed too far; my ſucceſs in "cabal deluded me. I have had greater majorities than even "Lord North: whenever I held up my finger the nation ſhouted; "theſe things puffed me up with falſe conceit. Diſburſing places "at will to brother, couſin, tutor, play-fellow, I deſpiſed the "Emperor, who could do no better than make his horſe a conſul. "I thought myſelf a STATESMAN equal to cope with real difficulties. But I dreadfully miſcalculated; I had no conception "of the reſiſtance I ſhould have to encounter. My opponents "indeed propheſied diſaſter; and independent men foreboded "me ill-luck. My helpmates, however, who had the experience of the American war, bore up my mind. *This time*, "they ſaid, *and with ſo many allies we* MUST *ſucceed.* But I "find that our efforts to reſtore a monarchy have only ſerved "to cement the foundations of a republic. I do not underſtand it; it is wonderful; the enemy's ſucceſs will be *the* "*miracle of hiſtory.** My head ſwims; a nation's groans "pierce me to the heart. My fond believing countrymen! "forgive me. What I yet can, I will. Let not your curſes "purſue me to my retirement; waſte not your energy in "wrath; angry words will neither cloſe the wounds of war "nor haſten the bleſſings of peace. You will find a hand to "extricate you; but do not, oh do not render my ſucceſſor "fool-hardy by blind confidence."

If a miniſter with ingenuouſneſs to feel and avow his incapacity be not in precedent and ſcarce in poſſibility, what is the alternative? why, he will always labour to make out a plauſible caſe. If affairs be undeniably bad, he will tell you how much worſe they *might have been!* if his plans will not bear diſcuſſion, he will ſeal up the mouth of the people! Since the man who

* So the miniſter called an event of which the cauſes are perfectly apparent, and which has many precedents in hiſtory.

wages war without ſucceſs, cannot expect to make peace without diſgrace, he will cry out for a prolongation of hoſtilities. Every ſtroke of the enemy may take him by ſurprize: of the next month's events he may know no more than a boy, gazing at the ſky, of the ſhape of the next cloud that ſhall aſcend from the horizon! Nevertheleſs, he will ſwear by all that's probable, that the NEXT CAMPAIGN ſhall bring the enemy to your feet. Having told you how much the proſpect abroad is to his ſatisfaction, he will lament, that the condition of the people at home is not altogether ſo comfortable as he could wiſh. The bulk of Engliſhmen he will acknowledge to have little familiarity with roaſt-beef and plumb-pudding. But as anciently in all miſhaps the guilty perſon attempted to ſhift the blame to the Devil and Dr. Fauſtus, ſo will the miniſter try to divert your attention from the evils *actually* felt in conſequence of his mal-adminiſtration, to thoſe that may *poſſibly* ariſe from Thelwall and the London correſponding ſociety.

It appears then that a miniſter's concern is to keep his place: the people's to enjoy the fruits of their labor in peace. To procure for himſelf the largeſt ſupply of the neceſſaries and comforts of life every individual ſhould be on the watch *to prevent an unneceſſary increaſe of that portion of his property which is gathered for the exigencies of the ſtate.* In all queſtions, where there is a difference of opinion, the ſpecial evidence of the caſe ſhould be conſidered, No attention ſhould be paid to unmeaning phraſes or to maxims calculated merely to puzzle fools. Are you told, that *adminiſtration ought to be ſupported?* let your anſwer be, "yes; if adminiſtration be right, it ought "to be ſupported; if wrong, to be corrected. In either caſe, "its deſigns and means muſt firſt be examined."—With theſe views I ſhall undertake to enquire, 1. Whether it is probable that any object, worthy an immenſe effuſion of treaſure, can be attained by a continuance of the war. 2. Whether any ſuch object (as it is pretended by the miniſter) has been attained. And 3. I ſhall briefly ſtate the motives of the ſeveral parties who originally ſupported his military meaſures.

1. Firſt, then, it is ſaid, that a degradation of dignity will be incurred by any motion on our part towards peace. I doubt if there be a word in the whole dictionary of which mankind have been more the dupes than of this word *DIGNITY.* You may conceive that I have not room for all I could ſay on this head. But every perſon of ſound ſenſe will, I imagine, underſtand and admit the truths conveyed in theſe lines:

> GO! lead mankind to Truth's forſaken ſhrine,
> Amend by morals, and by arts refine;
> Or lift, with Mercy's characters unfurl'd
> The flag of PEACE, and ſtill a warring world.
> So ſhall with grateful trump applauding Fame
> To tribes unborn announce thy patriot name;
> High o'er thy tomb with chiſſel bold engrave:
> "'TIS TRUE NOBILITY TO SERVE AND SAVE."
>
> From a MS. Imit. of Juvenal by———

In fact, a mind, which once ſuffers a divorce to take place between the idea of dignity and the idea of utility, may be brought to render homage to a bundle of ſhreds, ſticks, and ſtraws, ſet up in a garden to ſcare ſparrows, as to the thing, the moſt dignified in God's creation. Who then is moſt entitled to reſpect? He, you will reply, who has the beſt capacity and employs it in the beſt manner, to do ſervice to the community. Judge then, whether to exert the active virtue of the good Samaritan, be not more likely to enſure reſpect to an adminiſtration, than to profeſs themſelves diſpoſed to bind up the wounds of the human race; only it is an office beneath them; only they cannot ſtoop ſo low.—ASSOCIATED POWERS OF HYPOCRISY AND NONSENSE! to what have not thoſe men ſtooped—ſome from ambition and ſome from avarice—who would now hold up our dignity out of the reach of Peace?

But it is ſaid that *to ſhew a pacific diſpoſition would be to confeſs our weakneſs and therefore ſerve as an encouragemeut to the enemy.* I am not acquainted with a better teſt of temper than to be put to anſwer an argument like this; as if it were not notorious to all the world that we have been much diſtreſt, and are more alarmed, on the ſcore of proviſions! as if a ſpecific offer to negociate conveyed any particular intelligence concerning thoſe points where the Britiſh empire may be moſt vulnerable! as if the enemy had waited till this hour to put forth all their ſtrength! in a word, as if, being backward to quarrel and forward to come to terms, were held in any country for ſigns of cowardice!

But *to make peace at this moment would be to render property inſecure.* In this objection there is ſo much of meaning as entitles it to examination. Our poſſeſſions in the Eaſt Indies have not been much, if at all, in queſtion. I ſhall therefore conſider the objection as applying to the Weſt Indies, and to property at home.—The war between France and England provoked the dangerous decree for emancipating the negroes. By our miniſtry and by our traders it was doubtleſs expected, that the great naval power of Great Britain would at once diſlodge the enemy from thoſe iſlands, and prevent them from ever getting foot there again. Their inteſtine quarrels ſeemed likely to facilitate an undertaking, originally not very difficult. How miſerably we have been diſappointed in this, you well know. Inſtead of being the aſſailants we are reduced to a defenſive war. Inſtead of ſpreading terror, we have lain, I forget how long, under conſtant apprehenſion of ſuffering from invaſion or revolt. Allowing nothing for the loſs of ſo many brave men in the prime of life, nothing for the conſtant expence of keeping theſe iſlands, the ſum waſted in hoſtilities in this quarter will probably not be replaced by the profits of trade for an age to come.

In

In time of peace the Weſt-India plantations would not be in diſtreſs for want of thoſe ſupplies for which they muſt depend on the old continent or the new. The ſlaves not being pinched by ſhort allowance, this ſource of diſſatisfaction would be dried up. To the wiſdom and humanity of the planters it belongs to appeaſe the ſpirit of inſurrection, by ſoftening the hard condition of bondage. During the leiſure and ſecurity of peace they might adopt ſuch regulations of police as ſhould exclude external irritations. Such is manifeſtly the condition of war, that while unavoidable circumſtances render the negroes more than commonly diſcontanted, there are hourly chances that the enemy may break in and kindle a flame we cannot get under. Is it deſigned by protraction of the war to drive from theſe regions every Frenchman, who takes for his political creed the French declaration of rights? Is it afterwards intended to butcher all the negroes on whoſe ear the name of liberty has ſtruck? I hope that the laſt expedient has not been diſtinctly conceived, even by the apoſtles of exterminating warfare in Europe. The former I will ſhew under the next head to be the moſt hopeleſs of improbabilities. In ſhort, vary ever ſo much the poſition of your means, you muſt depend on peace for the opportunity of ſettling internal diſorders; and on peace too for ſafety againſt aggreſſion from without. Is it not likely that whatever requires adjuſtment, will run into wilder diſorder, the longer the arranging hand is withheld? It is certain the French will not deſiſt as long as the war ſhall rage from ſcattering the ſeeds of diſturbance.

I do not expect that war will leave, in ſo good plight as it found, any part of the empire. It would be ſtrange if the cauſes of ruin ſhould leave no traces behind where they have been moſt buſy at work. But if any individual ſhall be found to ſuffer from the terms of pacification, let him receive compenſation from the public. This, even if we ſuppoſe that war can reſtore the waſted eſtates in good condition to their owners; and though we once more ſuffer the lives of our countrymen to paſs as of no value, will be the cheaper mode. But *we have* LEVELLERS *at home, who would equally divide our lands and houſes, goods and chattels, aſſign to each man his lot.* The poet Dryden, I remember, in a ſong on certain "young ſtateſmen" of his time, imputes to them the following ingenious plot:

> Firſt, they would bribe us without pence,
> Deceive us without common ſenſe,
> And without power enſlave!

Of the laſt point, there can be no queſtion in theſe days; nor has any modern politician, young or old, I believe thought it a feaſible ſcheme to bribe without money or money's worth; but John Bull, it muſt be owned, has been moſt compleatly gulled by the term *equality* in defiance of common ſenſe. It is however now unneceſſary to enter into much epxlanation of the

the miſapprehenſion. It is ſufficient to affirm in the firſt place, that the maddeſt of the French aſſemblies, in the higheſt fury of their paroxyſms, neither paſſed any decree, nor held any deliberation, to this purport; and in the ſecond to challenge the greateſt ſcholar among our alarmiſts to produce any book of the ſmalleſt credit and not compoſed by a ſpy, in which this doctrine is delivered. No individual, I believe, of a ſound mind, has hinted a wiſh for this ſpecies of equalization. It is true, that a few benevolent enthuſiaſts, ſeeing that almoſt all crimes may be referred to extreme poverty, to the deſire or abuſe of wealth, have imagined that in ſome diſtant age men would become Chriſtians in more than profeſſion, "love their neighbour as themſelves," and agree that the ground might be tilled for the common benefit. Of the former calumny, it is to be hoped that its propagators and thoſe who favoured its propagation, are now aſhamed. The idea of violent diſtribution, if ever entertained among the moſt brutalized of our ſpecies, muſt have been ſuggeſted by this very imprudent act of bad faith.

I ſhould be loath to ſwear that the alarm of miniſtry for a certain very peculiar kind of property, was not among the moſt efficient cauſes of the war. I mean the property enjoyed by certain benefactors of their country under the title of penſions, places, and ſinecures. But I aſk if there were any wicked enough to think that tenures of this ſpecies ought to undergo ſome alteration, from whom did they acquire the notion? Is it not upon record that Mr. Pitt himſelf was accuſtomed to declare in public places, "that there were in moſt of the public "offices, ſinecure places to which great ſalaries were annexed; "and that the nation is burdened to pay officers who perform "no ſervices whatever.—This is good ground for reform." *(Commons Debates, Feb.* 10, 1783.*)* Did I know of any argument tending to ſhew that war promiſed ſtability to property, even of this ſort, I would examine it. The grand univerſal argument on the other ſide is this. Every ſenſitive being is diſpoſed, by uneaſy feelings, to change his poſture. A dog, if he lie down on a concealed thorn, will ſhift his quarters. Want, the companion of war, muſt tend to produce this diſpoſition to change in every people. I add, that knowledge of good and evil increaſes human ſenſibility. Old nuiſances, therefore, would occaſion greater reſtleſsneſs now than heretofore. When new cauſes of diſtreſs ſupervene, we muſt calculate the danger according to the *compound ratio* of the increaſed powers of evil and the increaſed ſuſceptibility to pain, I conclude, therefore, that it would be in peace which ſoothes, not in war which irritates, to render property, were it threatened, ſafe from the hazard of a forcible diviſion.

St. Domingo is another lure. *We have a great armament ready: ſhall we not ſtake our fortune againſt this fine iſland?* The loſs of our American colonies compleatly juſtified the reaſonings of thoſe politicians, who maintain'd that foreign poſſeſſions

poſſeſſions are no advantage, but an incumbrance to any ſtate. Nevertheleſs, they are ſtill unwiſely and unjuſtly coveted by the manufacturer and the merchant, not leſs than by the maſs of the people. I moſt ſincerely wiſh, that we may not loſe any of our iſlands; the conſequence would be ruinous to many families; and it is with nations as with individuals; neither can ſuddenly depart without riſque from bad habits. But I wiſh with equal earneſtneſs, that no miniſter may ſo far comply with vulgar prejudice as to hang this great mill-ſtone round the neck of Great-Britain. I believe it will not be in his power. From the vaſt ſize and population of the colony, its conqueſt will require an immenſe force. The neceſſary averſion of the natives to the Engliſh as ſtrangers, and the mortality of our ſoldiers in hot climates would render it extremely difficult to keep. The jealouſy of Spain would probably induce her to take part againſt us. Thus beſides the difficulty of the conqueſt, we ſhould have to encounter a new enemy; an enemy which can put a ſtrong force to ſea, and from which we cannot as formerly expect rich prizes. Were Spain to pour troops into St. Domingo, we might perhaps keep up the war for ſeveral campaigns; we ſhould juſt be maſters of the ground where our army was encamped, as we were in America; and I fancy we ſhould wind up the account as we did in that country.

By whatſoever power it is occupied, we ſhall manufacture for it; and I confeſs I had rather not be at the expence of garriſons. To keep a colony for the ſake of ſelling it goods, is much the ſame ſort of folly as if a tradeſman were to undertake to keep my houſe in repair, for the ſake of my excluſive cuſtom. Expence as £100 is generally incurred for the ſake of profit as £10. This way of doing buſineſs muſt lead to beggary; and the expence of acquiring, defending, and retaining diſtant poſſeſſions is a principal reaſon why the nation has become gradually more and more impoveriſhed.—The nation impoveriſhed! You ſtart at my raſhneſs or ſmile at my ignorance—But I have well weighed the allegation, and am ready when you pleaſe with my evidence. The number of individuals without food, fuel, or cloathing neceſſary to health, has (I aſſert) been augmenting for a long ſucceſſion of years. From medical books, where it exiſts in great profuſion, I have collected proof to ſatisfy a jury, that between the end of the late war and the beginning of the preſent, general wretchedneſs rapidly advanced. This is the period of Mr. Pitt's adminiſtration. But though I believe he did nothing to ſtem, I do not perceive that he took pains to lead on, this ſpreading inundation of evil. He left it to its courſe. His mighty mind was more magnificently occupied than in deviſing dykes and dams to keep the waters of tribulation out of the poor man's dwelling.

I have now regularly conducted you to the inch-by-inch diſputed and gore-drenched fields of Flanders. *Shall we ſuffer France to number among her citizens the millions that inhabit the countries ſhe at preſent holds by conqueſt?* I anſwer firſt, if the people themſelves prefer their preſent to their former maſters, we have no title to raiſe difficulties. Whence can ariſe our

right to force again an odious and galling yoke on their necks? If they diſlike the new connection, then I ſay the Flemiſh provinces will not be an acceſſion of ſtrength, but a drain and a ſource of weakneſs to France. The conquerors will in this caſe be obliged to maintain a ſtrong military force in theſe countries, of which the expence will bring no return, and which if laid out wiſely at home would add immenſely to their reſources. Again, if the heart of the Flemings be with their neighbours, no earthly force can probably diſunite them.—Moreover, all thoſe arguments apply to this queſtion, by which our moſt able politicians have laboured to diſſuade us from continental wars. A former miniſter boaſted of "conquering America and Germany." Good heaven! with what emotions muſt this bravado have been heard by a being capable of looking but a little way into futurity? With what pity for the people, and ſcorn of the boaſter muſt he have compared the two acts of that bloody farce? the firſt of coſtly conqueſt; the ſecond, of more coſtly diſpoſſeſſion.—To intrigue under pretence of maintaining the balance of power may be a pretty amuſement to the perſons who ſucceſſively ſit in the cabinet. But for the happineſs and eaſe of the people, who, that has a head to conſider and a heart to feel, will doubt that it is requiſite for us to follow the example of the prudent Swiſs? Let us improve our incloſures, encloſe our waſtes, and keep our navy ſtrong. To attempt to portion out the Continent of Europe is to run a muck againſt impoſſibility; from which act of madneſs we can derive only wounds, death, and diſtreſs. Soldiers are unproductive labourers at high wages. To apply a tenth part of our military expences to productive labour would make us invulnerable at home, and raiſe us higher in the ſcale of nations, than waſting the whole ſum in this labour of deſtruction abroad. Providence (who will deny it?) deſigned France to be a mighty nation. We felt her might even when her government was deſpotic: we have felt it ſtill more, ſince the inhabitants have been animated by the ſpirit of Freedom: when they ſhall be recruited by her bleſſed fruits, they will wax ſtronger ſtill. That country's power, we ſee, was not annihilated as Mr. Burke pronounced! it has not periſhed in convulſions as Mr. Pitt foretold at one time, nor of an atrophy, as he predicted at another; we may then as well ceaſe to ſpend ourſelves in vain ſtruggles againſt the unalterable and unconquerable nature of things. Oh no! be aſſured, my countrymen, God has not given theſe praters ſtrength equal to their malice. They cannot ſtamp a country to atoms, and ſcatter its duſt to the winds of heaven.

Theſe conſiderations might be drawn out to an indefinite extent. I have only ſpace for hints. I ſhall therefore content myſelf with reinforcing what I have ſaid, and ſupplying what I may have omitted by another quotation from the Dean of Glouceſter. His venerable authority (for he cannot be ſuſpected of a ſentiment adverſe to any part of the eſtabliſhment either in church or ſtate) might weigh with you; but unluckily in

political wiſdom, he is above an hundred years before our Dundaſſes, our Jenkinſons and our Pitts. Thoſe among you, therefore, who ſtill truſt in them, will take no heed of what the Dean ſays; to thoſe who do, the old man's counſel will be of no avail, while the preſent miniſtry are ſuffered to miſmanage public affairs. " Whence, ſays this able reaſoner, " does the " *dangerous* influence of the Crown ariſe? and how is its " growth to be prevented? Its cauſes are our vaſt territories " abroad, and thoſe ruinous wars and immenſe expences which " they occaſion; and *ever* will occaſion while we are connected " with them, under one pretence or another. Can any man " make a doubt of this? If he doth, let him try even in imagina- " tion to ſubſtitute a ſyſtem for the government or *reduction* " of ſuch remote countries, which would ſtand clear of thoſe " evils which we now feel and continually deplore? ——— " Who is to have the appointment and the payment of all the " troops, and of all the ſquadrons, tranſports; alſo of the ſeve- " ral officers, commanders, contractors, purveyors, ſurveyors, " examiners, ſtore-keepers, deputies, clerks, and of numberleſs " other beings to be employed? * * * * * How will you pre- " vent the Crown from gaining a prodigious influence by the " creation of ſuch a multitude of new appointments, and by the " annual expenditure of the many millions which will be want- " ed for the payment of them? How will you prevent it, I " ſay, while it has ſuch gainful things to give? even ſuppoſing " (what no man in his ſenſes can ſuppoſe) that not a ſingle " place would be created nor a farthing expended beyond what " the nature of the caſe required? yet even on this ſuppoſition; " and without *jobs* or *embezzlements*, ſo many lucrative places " all neceſſarily on the diſpoſal of the crown—muſt create a " dependance, call it by what name you pleaſe. And this is " the very influence which now too much preponderates in our " public councils. Here the ſecret is out at laſt. The legal " and conſtitutional influence of the crown is not to be blamed; " but our diſtant unwieldy colonies and our ruinous wars for " their ſake are the real cauſes of all our complaints." The writer goes on to aſſert that the proper remedy of theſe evils is to " renounce all foreign poſſeſſions and to cultivate the arts " of peace in the two fruitful iſlands of Great Britain and " Ireland." Whether his deſponding concluſion be not more applicable now than in 1780; different readers will decide differently. The concluſion itſelf is as follows: " as long as " the temper and intellects of mankind ſhall remain in this " wretched and diſordered ſtate, nothing truly good can be ex- " pected. We muſt therefore wait patiently for better times."

I ſuſpend for the moment the execution of the two laſt parts of my deſign: I have a little anticipated the ſecond. I had intended to copy the Pitt and Grenville aſſertions concerning myſtical advantages gained by the war, and to have oppoſed to them other aſſertions ſupported by reaſons.

To ſort the heterogeneous motives to which the war owed its riſe would have been infinitely curious. I ſhould have

aſcertained the cauſe of the miniſter's alarm; of the alarm among country gentlemen, or rather the opulent in general; of the alarm felt by certain perſons of ſtrong underſtandings, grown awry, who have equally diſtinguiſhed themſelves by oppoſing the paſt, and promoting the preſent, war. I ſhould have noticed the effects of religious, but moſt unchriſtian, zeal. I have often wondered when Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville have been declaiming againſt French irreligion, that no perſon aſked for a ſight of the inſtrument from heaven, by which they were appointed INQUISITORS GENERAL OF THIS PLANET, THE EARTH. There is a deluded nation inhabitating Mount Lebanon, which is ſaid to pay adoration to the Devil. This appears one ſtep in impiety beyond atheiſm itſelf. But if we are called upon to convert theſe poor people, I apprehend war not to be a fit inſtrument of converſion. Hence I conclude, that as infidelity of whatever ſpecies is no juſt ground of quarrel among nations, it ought never to have been mentioned, unleſs the deſign were to inflame inſtead of enlightening.—I ſhould have had occaſion to ſpeak of thoſe tender-hearted members of ſociety, who provided they can get more than legal intereſt for their money, are always ready to advance it towards marching freſh levies of their countrymen to glory over the bleaching bones of their predeceſſors.

Thus have I concluded with all brevity what I propoſed. My intention was to aſcertain whether a diſpaſſionate enquirer could expect from perſeverance in bloodſhed any advantage worth the riſque merely of millions of pounds ſterling. I have left no material point wholly untouched. Were honeſt Shylock to hold the ſcales, he would not pronounce that war preponderated. Of the bleſſing of peace I have ſaid nothing. I was not making a ſchool-boy's exerciſe. Who is ignorant that peaceful induſtry alone bears the Horn of Plenty in her arms? Or if there be by chance a reader, who does not rightly know what this phraſe means, I will make him underſtand me.——Let him imagine a young and ſmiling Female, with bread in one hand and potatoes in the other, feeding his lean and pale faced infants, till they become plump and roſy like Cherubim—Well, this Female is PEACE!

THOMAS BEDDOES.

Since this Pamphlet was compoſed, report of a propoſition to the Houſe of Commons reſpecting peace has reached the Author. He ſuppoſes that the miniſter, alarmed at the general oppoſition to the noted bills, and the cry for peace at many late public meetings, feels that he muſt now try to appeaſe the national indignation. If peace ſpeedily follow, the people may juſtly aſcribe it to their exertions—if not, it will be their intereſt ſoon to exert themſelves anew.——Whether this news be true, and if true, will be productive of good, time muſt decide. It is too certain that the miniſter has in view a moſt odious and deſtructive tax on farmers' horſes. A burden of this nature on agriculture, ſlight in ſound, but heavy in preſſur, is ſaid to have partly ruined Spain. Mr. Pitt avers this tax will fall on the farmer who can well afford to pay it. But ſurely the public good ſenſe will diſdain the pretence. For will it not